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Anna Kristina Hultgren

# Whose parallellingualism? Overt and covert ideologies in Danish university language policies<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** This paper aims to contribute to the study of multilingualism in the workplace by analysing top-down language policies advocating parallellingualism at Denmark's eight universities. Parallellingualism, a key concept in Nordic language policy, has been suggested as a way to ensure an equitable balance between English and the Nordic language(s) without the former encroaching on the latter. Drawing on theories which consider discourses about language to constitute positioning for or against a particular social, moral or political order (Cameron 2012), the paper contrasts state- and institution-authored university language policies. The overall aim is to understand what the different actors mean when they invoke 'parallellingualism'. Supplementary data consist of a corpus of newspaper articles on the topic of the use of English and Danish at Danish universities published in the same period as the university language policies. It is argued that while both state and institution-authored policies overtly advocate 'parallellingualism' as a guiding principle for managing multilingualism at Danish universities, in the state-authored policies, this seems to mean 'more Danish', while in the institution-authored policies it seems to mean 'more English'. Some underlying ideologies of each of these positions are proposed before the implications for workplace discourse are discussed.

**Keywords:** Workplace discourse, multilingualism, universities, language policy, parallellingualism, Danish, English, covert and overt ideologies

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# 1 Introduction: Top-down language policy in the multilingual university

It is widely recognised that workplaces are becoming increasingly multilingual (Schnurr 2013; Gunnarsson 2009; Roberts 2007). This paper focuses on one workplace context, namely universities and more specifically Denmark's previously non-Anglophone universities, in which English is increasingly being used in teaching, research dissemination and internal communication (Hultgren 2013). Universities differ from other types of workplaces, notably corporate workplaces (Bargiela-Chiappini *et al.* 2007; Lønsmann 2011), in that they are not first and foremost commercial organisations; they are under contractual agreement, in Denmark at least, to serve the Danish state. Despite this, universities in Denmark and elsewhere have in recent years been brought more in line with private corporations through neoliberal processes centred on competition, international benchmarking and mobility (Hazelkorn 2011; Guruz 2008; Becher & Trowler 2001). This has engendered increased multilingualism but also, in non-Anglophone countries, Englishisation as a way of enabling cross-linguistic communication through a common language (Haberland *et al.* 2013; Hultgren *in press*; de Swaan 2001).

The focus here is on top-down language policies and more specifically on the ways in which multilingualism, and, in particular, the relationship between Danish and English, is constructed in university language policies. Despite a recent move from top-down to bottom-up approaches in the language policy literature (Wee 2011; Kingsley 2010; Meyer & Apfelbaum 2010), there is still merit in critically scrutinising top management discourses and in bringing to the fore what is enacted as a desirable or necessary linguistic situation, with or without consulting employees (Angouri 2013). In the 'new work order', workplaces which are increasingly concerned with their employees' communicative and linguistic behaviour (Schnurr 2013; Gee *et al.* 1996), it seems all the more important to examine what such concerns may consist of and why. It would of course also be interesting to explore the extent to which institutional ideals are reflected, resisted or negotiated in the practices of actors at the micro-level but this is beyond the scope of this paper (for bottom-up approaches to multilingualism in the internationalised universities of Denmark, Finland and Sweden, see, e.g., Mortensen *in press*; Haberland *et al.* 2013; Lindström 2012; Söderlundh 2012). More importantly, however, the data suggest a need for questions to be raised about the usefulness of terms such as 'top-down' and 'bottom-up approaches', an issue I shall return to in the conclusion.

The focus on university language policies in this paper distinguishes it in different ways from other conceptualisations of workplace talk. It differs from

conversation analysts' rather influential approach to what they refer to as 'institutional talk' (e.g. Drew & Heritage 1992) by paying less attention to the conversational participants' construction of institutionality than to an institution's one-way communication about a specific language constellation as encoded in institutional documents. It fits better into a more recent and broader definition of 'professional communication' as 'interactions which may take various forms and which take place in a context that is broadly related to work, and involve at least one participant who is engaged in some work-related activity' (Schnurr 2013: 17). However, the adjective 'professional' sits less easily with the fact that language policy is 'institutional' rather than 'professional' (Sarangi & Roberts 1999); institutions such as universities are made up of a range of professions: vice chancellors, deans, heads of departments, lecturers, technicians, cleaners, administrative staff, and so on. To further complicate matters, the paper draws on two types of language policy documents: those *directed* at the institution (i.e. the university), but which are not authored by actors belonging to that institution and juxtaposes those with documents *authored by* the institution itself. In other words, a distinction is made between state and institution-authored university language policies. As policy documents remain relatively under-researched in workplace discourse studies, there is a need for further research into this area (Angouri 2013).

Following an account of the data and methods, the paper first takes a look at the state-authored university language policies and then at the university-authored policies. Within each of these, overt ideologies are contrasted with covert ideologies (see further below). The paper will argue that while both the state and the institution-authored policies overtly advocate parallellingualism, the meaning of this concept appears to be diametrically opposed at the two levels compared. In the state-authored policies, it seems to mean 'more Danish', whereas in the institution-authored policies it means 'more English'. The underlying ideologies and interests at stake at each of these two levels will be explored before turning to the implications of the study and conclusions. Aside from examining policy documents, the discussion is supported by a newspaper corpus as a way to illustrate the socio-political context in which the policies were created.

## 2 Theory, data and analytic methods

The policy documents that constitute the focus here were authored either by an expert committee appointed by the Danish Ministry of Culture or by the

Danish Ministry of Culture. At the institutional level, authorship is less clear, but it seems to have been either an individual with decision-making powers or an especially appointed working group. The rationale for contrasting state- and institution-authored policies is that while language policies on different levels often interact with one another (Hult 2012), they are also likely to be influenced by the ideologies, goals and interests of their creators (Lo Bianco 2005).

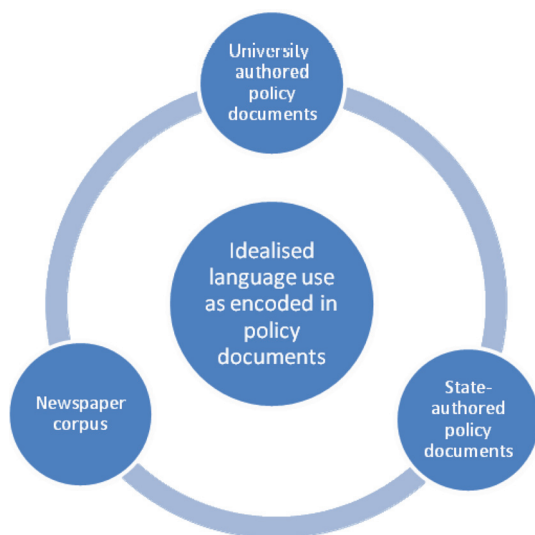
In addition to contrasting state and institution-authored language policies, the analysis also contrasts overt and covert ideologies. Overt ideologies are those which are explicitly expressed, whereas covert ideologies are those that are implicitly taken for granted and which rest on unquestioned assumptions about how the world is and should be. The rationale for this twofold analysis is that while actors may well share their subscription to a given ideology overtly, they can have different reasons and underlying motives for doing so (Cameron 2012; Duchêne & Heller 2007; Lo Bianco 2005). This type of inquiry is in line with Deborah Cameron's, and others', attempts to theorise why people apparently have such a strong urge to discuss, reflect on and sometimes intervene in language matters, a practice Cameron refers to as 'verbal hygiene' (Cameron 2012). While Cameron's notion of 'verbal hygiene' refers mainly to intra-linguistic discourses, i.e. talk about what is considered correct and appropriate (mainly) within the English language, the concept is here extended to incorporate inter-linguistic discourses, i.e. talk about how to manage multilingualism and the global spread of English. The explanation Cameron proposes for the urge to meddle in language is that discourses about language are not solely or even first and foremost about language. According to her, preoccupation with language is essentially a – conscious or unconscious – ideological attempt to right things that are felt to be in disorder in the world in general. Thus, as I will argue, while both state and institution-authored policies overtly prescribe parallellingualism, i.e. a dual focus on English and Danish (see section three for a discussion), the former seems to be aimed at strengthening Danish and the latter at strengthening English given the different ideological positionings and interests of the policy authors.

The data drawn on to get an insight into the overt ideologies are, for the state-authored policies, four language policy documents written between 2003 and 2009. These documents are publicly available on the official website of the Danish Ministry of Culture and they are widely recognized as being among the most influential documents in the Danish language policy debate. They were analysed by identifying passages prescribing a particular linguistic stance in the university domain. The institution-authored policies were downloaded September–December 2012 from the universities' website or relevant parties were contacted to get hold of them. The analysis entailed identifying and classifying

**Table 1:** Data and analytic methods of university language policies.

Ideologies	Author	Data	Analytic methods
Overt	State	Language policy documents authored at the national level (by the Danish Ministry of Culture): – <i>Language at stake: an initiative towards a Danish language policy [Sprog på spil: et udspil til en dansk Sprogpolitik]</i> (Danish Ministry of Culture 2003) – <i>Language policy review [Sprogpolitisk redøgørelse]</i> (Danish Ministry of Culture 2004) – <i>Language in time [Sprog til tiden]</i> (Danish Ministry of Culture 2008) – <i>Language in time: the government's response to the language committees' report [Sprog til tiden: regeringens opfølgning på sprogudvalgets rapport]</i> (Danish Ministry of Culture 2009)	Literal reading and thematic analysis of passages relating to the university domain
	Institution	Language policy documents from all of Denmark's eight universities: – University of Copenhagen – University of Aarhus – University of Aalborg – University of Southern Denmark – Denmark's Technical University – Copenhagen Business School – Roskilde University – IT University of Copenhagen	Thematic coding
Covert	State/Institution	A 62,209-word corpus of articles retrieved via the database Infomedia from Danish national and regional newspapers and magazines published 1 August 2000–1 August 2010 on the topic of English at Danish universities.	The corpus was analysed thematically and by extracting a list of keywords using corpus linguistic techniques*
		Government internationalization policy – <i>Progress, renewal and security: Strategy for Denmark in the global economy – the most important initiatives [Fremgang, fornyelse og tryghed: Strategi for Danmark i den globale økonomi – de vigtigste initiativer]</i> (Danish Government 2006) University mission statements from all eight universities (collected 2012–2013).	Policies and mission statements were read to identify possible contradictions with the language policies

\* The keyword analysis is not presented in this article.



**Figure 1:** Visualisation of datasets.

recurring themes to get a systematic overview of the policies in their full length. This thematic analysis revealed three themes which will be discussed in section four on the institution-authored university language policies.

Aside from the literal reading of the policies, an attempt was made to identify any underlying ideologies of the language policies and the interests at stake of their creators (see, e.g., contributors to Duchêne & Heller 2007) by gaining a wider perspective on the political, economic, historic and socio-cultural context in which the language policies at both levels were created. This was done by drawing on a newspaper corpus on the topic of English at Danish universities from the same period in which the policies were created, as well as the period leading up to it (see Table 1 for details).

The newspaper corpus was collected to give the researcher an insight into the socio-political background against which the policies were written and the ideologies which seemed to be at play. This dataset will not be presented in its entirety, but it has informed the analysis of both state- and university-authored policies. Furthermore, illustrative excerpts from the newspaper corpus will be directly cited to illustrate the broader socio-economic context of the state-authored policies, to support the analysis and to exemplify ideologies. Other documentary data, such as government policies on internationalisation in higher education and research and university mission, were also collected (see Table 1), which, despite not necessarily having anything explicitly to do with

language, are likely to have had a bearing on the sociolinguistic situation. The coding of the data took place in an iterative fashion, so that the university language policies were re-read ‘between the lines’ with this contextual data in mind (see Table 1). Attention was also paid not only to what is explicitly said but also to what is *not* said, such as, for example, lack of details about implementation and enforcement. Table 1 thus summarises the sample and analytic procedures.

A couple of things should be noted. Firstly, the distinction made between the data relating to overt and covert ideologies is not as clear as Table 1 might suggest. The newspaper corpus, for instance, could be said to provide insights into both the overt and covert ideologies. Secondly, the covert ideologies argued to be at stake here are based on the researcher’s interpretation. In the discussion which follows, I support my reading with representative quotes from the policy documents and the newspaper corpus to enable the reader to determine the validity of these interpretations.

### 3 State-authored university language policies

This section will discuss state-authored language policies and what they suggest about language use in the university context. The section is divided into two sub-sections. The first investigates the overt ideology as it is prescribed in the state-authored policy documents. It is argued here that the overtly prescribed ideology is ‘parallellingualism’, i.e. a dual co-existence of English and Danish at Danish universities. Excerpts from the language policy documents will be shown to support the analysis. The second sub-section takes a look at the covert ideologies and argues that despite the overtly dual emphasis on both languages, the underlying ideology is predominantly nationalist in the sense that it seeks to strengthen Danish in the face of English. In line with the tenet of ‘verbal hygiene’ (Cameron 2012), it is suggested that this apparent urge to strengthen Danish may be interpreted as reactions against the *social* order as much as reactions against the *linguistic* order. Some suggestions are given as to what ideologies are felt to be under threat and/or are resisted. These include: *romantic nationalism*, *anti-immigration*, *anti-Americanism* and *anti-bureaucratization*. The discussion is supported by quotes selected from the language policy documents as well as from the newspaper corpus.



### 3.1 Overt ideology: Parallellingualism

Despite an increased multilingualism at Danish universities (Haberland *et al.* 2013; Holmen 2012), the state-authored language policies are almost exclusively concerned with two languages: Danish and English. Although some scholars are keen to widen the semantic field of the term to encompass other languages than English and Danish (e.g. Holmen 2012), one of the scholars who introduced the concept in Denmark, Davidsen-Nielsen,<sup>2</sup> seems to have intended it as a way of strengthening the status of the Nordic national languages in the face the increasing dominance of English (Davidsen-Nielsen 2008).<sup>3</sup> The term parallellingualism seems to have been introduced in 2001 when a series of reports were commissioned by the language committee under the Nordic Council of Ministers, a forum for Nordic governmental co-operation, to investigate the growing use of English at Nordic universities. The author of the report explicitly mentions *parallelspråkighet* ('parallellingualism') in the section on higher education and research (Höglén 2002: 91), but there had been recognition even before that, at least in Sweden, that English and Swedish exist in a parallel relationship (Davidsen-Nielsen 2008). The Scandinavian and Nordic governments have clearly inspired one another in the launch and use of the terms 'domain loss' and 'parallellingualism' (Norwegian Department of Cultural and Ecclesiastic Affairs 2008; Danish Ministry of Culture 2008, 2003; Swedish Department of Culture 2002; Nordic Council of Ministers 2007).

In Denmark, the most commonly used English term for this concept is 'parallel language use', e.g. the English name for the 'Center for Internationalisering og Parallelsprogighed' at the University of Copenhagen is 'Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use'. The centre, the first of its kind, was established in 2008 as a research, resource and course centre devoted to supporting parallellingualism at the University of Copenhagen. Following Linn (2010), however, I use the term 'parallel[l]ingualism' because of its analogy to the established pairs '*tosprogethed*/bilingualism' and '*flersprogethed*/multilingualism'. Moreover, as the term is meant to reflect an *ideal* linguistic situation,

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<sup>2</sup> Professor of English at Copenhagen Business School 1985–2005 and chair of the Danish Language Council 2003–2009.

<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, while Niels Davidsen-Nielsen, ex-chair of the Danish Language Council, credits his Swedish equivalent, Olle Josephson, ex-chair of the Swedish Language Council, with being the first to use the concept (Davidsen-Nielsen 2008), Olle Josephson suggests that the concept is more widespread in Denmark (Josephson 2005). In any case, Denmark is the only Nordic country which has a 'Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use', established in 2008, and it was also the first of the Nordic countries to appoint a 'Professor of Parallel Language Use'.

it seems uncalled for to emphasise ‘use’, especially since this makes the translation less loyal to the Danish original. Despite parallellingualism playing a key role in Nordic language policy discourses, there is some recognition that it is not always entirely clear exactly what it entails or how the relationship between English and Danish is negotiated locally (see also Linn 2010; Thøgersen 2010). As one commentator writes: ‘To a certain extent we shall all be involved in “constructing” in the years to come what parallellingualism is going to be in the end’ (Harder 2008: n/a, my translation).

Nevertheless, despite its fuzzy meaning, parallellingualism has, as an overtly expressed ideal, a strong impetus, not only in Danish, but in Nordic language policy discourse (see, e.g., Nordic Council of Ministers 2007; for Denmark, see, e.g., Danish Ministry of Culture 2008). In an influential report commissioned by the Danish Ministry of Culture to assess the status of the Danish language, the concept of parallellingualism plays an important role, just as it has done in the preceding documents published in 2003 and 2004 (Davidsen-Nielsen 2008; Danish Ministry of Culture 2003, 2004). In the chapter devoted to ‘Sprog på de videregående uddannelser og i forskningen’ (‘Language in higher education and research’), the following is suggested:

Central to the solution for the challenges faced by universities is the concept of parallellingualism. The purpose of a parallellingual strategy is to ensure the opportunity for researchers, graduates and students to operate internationally, while continuing to develop a scientific language and terminology in all areas, which is usable in a Danish-medium context. (Danish Ministry of Culture 2008: 47, my translation)

Whilst it is recognised elsewhere in the same document that parallellingualism does not need to entail an exact reduplication of all activities, e.g. the same course offered in both Danish and English, this excerpt clearly frames parallellingualism as the need for both English and Danish. Although ‘English’ is not named explicitly in this extract, it is alluded to by referring to its global currency which enables ‘researchers, graduates and students to operate internationally’ (Danish Ministry of Culture 2008: 47, my translation). At the same time, parallellingualism is also seen as a way to ensure that Danish continues ‘to develop a scientific language and terminology in all areas’ (Danish Ministry of Culture 2008: 47, my translation), which relates back to the central idea that Danish is a ‘society-bearing’ (*samfundsbærende*) language, usable for all societal purposes, including that of science communication. Taken at face value, then, this passage clearly shows that parallellingualism, understood as a dual emphasis on English and Danish, is seen as a desirable ideal. However, despite parallellingualism being overtly framed as a dual emphasis on English and

Danish, a closer analysis indicates that it is essentially preservationist, i.e. an intention to preserve and protect Danish against English.

### 3.2 Covert ideology: More Danish

The analysis of the data suggests that encouraging the use of Danish is the underpinning ideology. The selected excerpts illustrate this. For instance, in the introduction to the chapter focusing on language use in higher education and research, the following is stated:

Since Language at stake [in the predecessor of the report] (2003) there has been a rapid expansion in the portfolio of English-taught degree programmes, and it is especially the challenge from English that the committee's attention is drawn to. In this regard, the notion of parallellingualism has been central as a broad term for actions which can take many different forms. (Ministry of Culture 2008: 42, my translation)

The report refers to the 'challenge' posed by the 'rapid expansion in the portfolio of English-taught degree programmes' and goes on to implicitly frame 'parallellingualism' as a set of remedial 'actions' to this 'challenge'. Furthermore, in the introductory section of the same document, under the heading '*Dansk som hovedsproget i Danmark*' ('Danish as the main language in Denmark'), it is announced that '*Vi kan ikke klare os med ét sprog i Danmark, men dansk er hovedsproget i Danmark*' ('We cannot make do with one language in Denmark, but Danish is the main language in Denmark'). Thus, the fact that Danish is currently the main language in Denmark is being invoked to justify its continued existence. It is noteworthy that both these passages of the report are introductory – one introducing the section on language use in higher education and research and the other the report in its entirety. As introductory passages they help set the scene, and the scene they set is that Danish is the main language and English the added language, a 'challenge' posed by the 'rapid expansion in the portfolio of English-taught degree programmes'.

Such scene-setting is based on assumptions which ignore the political and ideological decisions involved in assigning a particular language as the language of a nation state, a practice which is comparatively new, dating back only to period of romanticism (Dorian 2004). It also ignores well-documented sociolinguistic axioms of language contact, change and shift. As Cameron (2007) points out, arguments like these imply that 'particular languages are the only authentic vehicles for particular traditions' otherwise 'any language adopted by a group would *ipso facto* take over [that] function' (2007: 280). In other words, there is an underlying ideology that Danish is the only language

of the nation and that it should continue to be so irrespective of whether times have changed.

This concern for the national language must be seen against the backdrop of the sharp rise in the use of English at Nordic universities (Danish Ministry of Culture 2004, 2008; Jarvad 2008). A key notion in such concerns is typically referred to as ‘domain loss’, which denotes the idea that the Nordic languages may lose status or functionality or be marginalised in the university domain or eventually disappear entirely (Davidsen-Nielsen 2009; Jarvad 2001). At the same time, there are fears that segments of the population, whose English proficiency is low, will be cut off from access to research-based information, something which is said to threaten democracy (Danish Ministry of Culture 2008) and that graduates trained in English will be unable to pass on their knowledge to practitioners in Danish society (see, e.g., contributors to Harder 2009).

Overall, all three major activities normally associated with universities, teaching, research and administration, are increasingly conducted in English alongside a local Nordic language (see, e.g., Haberland & Mortensen 2012; Bolton & Kuteeva 2012; Wächter & Maiworm 2008). In 2011, 26 percent of graduate programmes at Denmark’s eight universities were (nominally) taught in English, most of them in the natural, technical and business areas; the percentage for undergraduate level was 6 percent, and they seem to be on the rise (Hultgren 2013). In terms of research dissemination, 83 percent of research articles and books were in English in 2011, 15 percent in Danish and 2 percent in other languages, though with significant disciplinary differences (Hultgren 2013). Because 16 percent of students and 18 percent of faculty staff are international (Hultgren 2013), English is typically used extensively as the language of administration, e.g. in emails and departmental meetings and for external communication on the universities’ website (Madsen 2008; Greenall 2012).

If we turn now to an exploration of what might be some of the underlying ideologies in the wish to strengthen Danish, one such ideology may be labelled national romanticism. While it is important to bear in mind that there was not always consensus among the committee members, as is mentioned in the foreword to the report (Danish Ministry of Culture 2008), the voice of the final report may be more in line with the views of the committee chair, Jørn Lund, professor of Nordic philology and then director of the Danish Society of Language and Literature. Jørn Lund has been highly influential in the Danish language policy debate; he chaired the committees appointed by the government to report on the extent of English usage and he has written several opinion pieces to national Danish newspapers on this issue, which might be said to be nationally romantic in nature (see below). It is possible that Jørn Lund has authored the passages in the policy document in which national patriotic senti-

ments shine through, e.g. in quotations from and references to the Danish authors Jens Schiølderup Sneedorffs and Ludwig Holberg, who were both central figures in the national-romantic enlightenment period in 19<sup>th</sup> century Denmark (see, e.g., Danish Ministry of Culture 2008: 5 and 14). This interpretation is further supported by Jørn Lund having been awarded the ‘*modermålsprisen*’ (‘mother tongue prize’) and the ‘*Holbergmedaljen*’ (‘the Holberg medal’) in 2009 to honour his devotion to the Danish language.

The nationalist ideology of the report has also been, albeit for different reasons, appropriated by representatives of an overtly nationalist political party, i.e. the *Dansk Folkeparti* (the ‘Danish People’s Party’) who often invoke the ‘expert’ claims about threats to the national language in support of their explicit calls for tighter immigration legislation. Thus, in 2009, the party proposed a language law aimed at preventing ‘domain loss’ to English. One of the politicians behind the proposal commented: ‘We are afraid that Danish is disappearing. We are afraid that Danish gradually will decline into a peasant language which cannot be used by everyone in the country in all situations’ (Krarup 2009, cited in and translated from Danish by Lønsmann 2011). Interestingly, the term ‘bilingualism’ (in Danish *tosprogethed*) is rarely used in the discourses surrounding the use of English at Danish universities, most probably because it has negative connotations by having been hijacked by the anti-immigrant lobby. This may be why ‘parallellingualism’ is often preferred to ‘bilingualism’.<sup>4</sup>

The nationalist ideology, and the corresponding urge to protect Danish, sometimes appears in the interrelated guise of anti-Americanism. This interpretation will be illustrated by a quotation from the newspaper corpus. Shortly after the first state-authored language policy document was published, Jørn Lund, chair of the committee who authored it, published an opinion piece in the major Danish newspaper *Politiken* to justify the need for a language policy. This was done partly by referring to the Americanisation of society.

We meet the English language in films, on the internet, in school, at work; it influences entertainment and music culture, it enters the general as well as the specialised language. ‘Okay’ is the most successful linguistic export in the history of the world, and it is among the most common words in Danish. American fashion, lifestyle and behaviour influence large parts of society, the cityscape is being Americanised and we follow American politics to a greater extent than European. (Newspaper corpus, my translation)

Combined with the call for language policy, this passage suggests a discontent with Englishisation as well as a conflation of Englishisation with Hollywoodisa-

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4 I am grateful to Robert Phillipson and Frans Gregersen for this observation.

tion. In other words, the use of English (apparently associated here with loan-words such as ‘Okay’) is confounded with the adoption of American culture and lifestyle patterns in Denmark, in turn often associated with superficiality and shallowness (Teleman 2003).<sup>5</sup>

Intertwined with this antipathy are probably also reactions, particularly from the intellectual elite, to an increased bureaucratisation of Danish universities, which places greater emphasis on targets and measurements (Boden & Wright 2010). For instance, Peter Harder, professor of English at the University of Copenhagen, who has been an active proponent for a language policy at Danish universities and is co-founder of the Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use, writes an opinion piece in the Danish newspaper *Politiken*, entitled ‘Slaughter the giant octopus now!’ (*Slagt kæmpeblæksprutten nu!*), against the administrative machinery at Danish universities which, he suggests, suffocates scholarly quality. There have also been relatively fierce reactions to the introduction in Denmark to bibliometric performance indicators which measure scientific output in quantitative rather than qualitative terms (Forskerforum 2012). It might be argued that reactions against Englishisation and against the bureaucratisation of Danish universities are part of the same ideology. The corpus suggests that commentators who react against Englishisation are, at a different level, reacting against the bureaucratisation of Danish universities.

In sum, then, I have argued that while parallellingualism is overtly advocated in state-authored university language policies, they have been created with the intention of strengthening the national language, Danish. I have suggested that there are underlying motivations for such preservationist discourses and that they may be multi-faceted and related to a range of diverse ideological positions from national romanticism, anti-immigration, anti-Americanism and anti-bureaucratisation. In the next section, I suggest that while the institution-authored language policies also advocate parallellingualism overtly, at a deeper level, this seems to mean ‘more English’.

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<sup>5</sup> The role of the US in promulgating American culture, and, consequently, the English language has been a matter of polemic debate, for a summary, see, e.g., Rapatahana & Bunce 2012.

## 4 Institution-authored university language policies

This section is also divided into two sub-sections. The first looks at the overt ideology as it is prescribed in the institution-authored policy documents. Here, it is argued that the overtly prescribed ideology is again, as was the case for the state-authored policies, parallellingualism. This will be further analysed by drawing out three themes that emerge from the thematic analysis. Excerpts from the language policy documents will be shown to illustrate each of these themes. The second sub-section focuses on covert ideologies and argues that despite the overtly dual emphasis on both languages, the underlying ideology is predominantly neo-liberalist and *laissez faire* in that it prioritises economic profit and free trade. This, it is suggested, will, strategically or automatically, strengthen the position and use of English. This part of the discussion will be supported by quotes selected from the institution-authored policy documents as well as the universities' mission statements.

### 4.1 Overt ideology: Parallellingualism

Denmark has eight universities, and all of them have some sort of language policy in place (see Table 2). Overall they are contained in a stand alone document with a few exceptions. Written between 2004 and 2010, two policies (UCPH and AU) are in their second edition. All policies are in Danish, and where excerpts are presented in the forthcoming analysis, these have been translated into English by the author. In this section I focus on the three most important themes that emerge from the analysis and draw on quotes that illustrate the points raised here.

The thematic analysis suggests that the language policies cover three main themes (see Table 3). The first main theme relates to the declaration of parallellingualism as the institutional policy, whether or not this is explicitly referred to as parallellingualism or implied by reference to both English and Danish. Thus, all eight universities officially declare themselves as operating in Danish and English or allude to the institutional co-existence of both English and Danish. In the case of the University of Copenhagen, the institutional bilingualism is explicitly referred to as a parallellingual language policy: 'The premise of the language policy is a principle of parallellingualism' (University of Copenhagen's language policy).

**Table 2:** Overview of language policies at Denmark's eight universities.

University	Abbreviation	Language policy as a self-standing document	Date stamp	Length
Aalborg University	AAU	Yes	10 May 2009	1 page
Aarhus University	AU	Yes	18 March 2004	1 page
Copenhagen Business School	CBS	Yes	February 2006	10 pages
Denmark's Technical University	DTU	No (but language is mentioned in the educational policy)	2010	Less than ½ page
IT University <sup>6</sup>	ITU	Yes (not public)	NA	NA
University of Copenhagen	UCPH	No (but separate section in the mission statement)	2007	½ page
Roskilde University	RU	Yes	11 January 2006	5 pages
University of Southern Denmark	USD	Yes	March 2008	5 pages

**Table 3:** Main themes in Denmark's eight university policies.

Main themes	University
Parallellingualism as an institutional policy	AAU, CBS, DTU, UCPH, RU, USD, ITU
Parallellingualism as tool for undertaking teaching, research dissemination and administration	AAU, AU, CBS, UCPH, DTU, USD, RU
Parallellingual competency development	AAU, AU, CBS, DTU, ITU, UCPH, RU, USD

This institutional parallellingualism is often set against an explicit recognition that the university plays a dual role as a national and international actor, for example:

CBS is a Danish university with a strong international orientation in research and education. (CBS 2006: 2, my translation)

<sup>6</sup> The IT University of Denmark has a language policy, but it is not publicly available according to a telephone conversation with ITU staff on 10<sup>th</sup> October 2012. From a report written by the Danish Ministry of Science in 2009, which surveys the content of the language policies of all Denmark's eight universities, it is possible to gain some insight into the content of the ITU's language policy. However, because of restrictions on access to this language policy, the analysis of it is not as comprehensive as that of the other seven.



Most or all universities emphasise (either in their language policies or in their mission statements) the importance of internationalisation, and typically this seems to be implicitly equated with a greater use of English. Often it is presented as an act of recruiting the best students and staff from an international pool of candidates in order to be able to compete internationally. As an example, in the case of CBS, there is even a target aiming at ‘at least 20–25 percent foreign students and teachers’. At the same time, however, the university-authored policies also recognise a responsibility for retaining Danish as an academic language:

It is the intention of Roskilde University to actively contribute to the development of Danish academic language, so as to avoid domain loss. (Roskilde University’s language policy)

It is in itself interesting, I would suggest, that the tension between internationalisation and national obligations is framed as necessitating a bilingual Danish/English policy. Arguably, it is not in any way a given that challenges associated with socio-economic restructuring are best solved through intervening in linguistic matters, yet in destabilising social conditions language is often mistaken as being in need of fixing (Cameron 2012).

The second main theme relates to parallellingualism as a tool for undertaking teaching, research dissemination and administration. As regards teaching, five universities (AAU, AU, CBS, DTU, RU) make statements about language-related matters and one university (AAU) also considers language choice in the supervision of research students. Most of these (AU, AAU and DTU) note that Danish is used at the bachelor level and English at the master’s level. One university takes a more contextual approach, noting that the language of instruction will depend on the programme or modules: ‘academic orientation’, ‘pedagogical considerations’ and the ‘students’ targeted employment market’ (CBS). Roskilde University is founded on the principle of offering complete programmes in both English and Danish, and their policy reflects this. As regards the language of research dissemination, five universities (AU, CBS, UCPH, RU, USD) also provide guidelines on this. In the majority of cases, the language choice in research communication is presented as being best decided locally, i.e. by the author of the text, in consideration of the target audience and the tradition of the field. Five universities (AU, CBS, UCPH, RU, USD) also stress the importance of disseminating knowledge to a wider (Danish-speaking) audience. One (RU) recommends providing an abstract in Danish of any English text. The language of administration relates to the universities’ internal and external communication, spoken and written language, and about the administrative language use of both support staff (e.g. those in financial and library

functions) and academic staff (e.g. in departmental meetings). With the policies on the whole avoiding giving any specific recommendations about which language to use for which purpose, they seem to work more to signal an awareness that both English and Danish are at work within the institution. This could be seen as a case of ‘strategic ambiguity’ (Angouri 2013) in the sense that institutions are deliberately vague in their policies by allowing for flexibility of communication.

The third and final theme in the university language policies relates to parallellingual competency development. Eight universities offer (or have considered offering) language competency development for staff and students in both English and Danish, though not all universities offer it for both languages or for both staff and students. Some universities mention having established dedicated language support centres for this purpose and some stipulate expectations of non-Danish staff (or less often students) to learn Danish within a period of time after arriving in the country. In addition, two universities (CBS and UCPH) require students or staff with English as an additional language to have their English proficiency certified (an issue to which I shall return). RU is more lenient and recommends rather than requires certification of competencies while USD expresses an intention for a future policy of certification. In five policies (AAU, AU, CBS, UCPH, RU) there is mention of the importance of developing competences in other language too, but comparatively less space is devoted to this. Interestingly, the notion of linguistic competence is largely taken for granted; it is assumed that everyone will have a shared understanding of what this concept entails. Alternative understandings of competence, which centre on communicative success rather than on pre-specified notions of correctness, such as the English as a Lingua Franca paradigm (Jenkins *et al.* 2011; Seidlhofer 2011), are absent from the policies.

To sum up, the thematic analysis of the language policies of Denmark’s eight universities reveal three central themes. The first theme relates to the declaration of a parallellingual policy within the institution as a way for the universities to cater for both international and national needs. The second theme relates to how such a parallellingual policy permeates each of the three undertakings of universities: research, teaching and administration. The final theme relates to a focus on language competencies, mostly in English and Danish and to a lesser extent in other languages. All in all, then, the overt institution-authored language policy at Danish universities is overtly parallellingual (sometimes described simply as both English and Danish being the official languages of the institution). In the next section, I shall dig a little deeper into the language policies in order to foreground the ideologies upon which they are built and the interests at stake by those who devise them.

## 4.2 Covert ideology: More English

In this section, I argue that, in contrast to what was the case for the state-authored university language policies, the type of parallellingualism that is either explicitly or implicitly advocated in the institution-authored policies suggests a greater use of English. This is evidenced both in terms of strategic goals to internationalise and as an absence of strategies for implementation and enforcement of the parallellingual ideology. The stance taken here is that the underlying ideology of the institution-authored university language policies is neo-liberalist and *laissez faire*. This argument will be supported by drawing on evidence from each of the three themes that emerged in the previous analyses, i.e. parallellingualism, university tasks and language competences. Illustrative quotes will also be pulled out from the policies and the universities' mission statements to support the argument.

In terms of the first theme, institutional parallellingualism, there are indications that in the institution-authored language policies this essentially means 'more English'. The University of Copenhagen's most recent mission statement, which describes the intended direction of the University until 2016, would constitute corroborating evidence. On page ten in this twelve-page document, the word 'parallellingualism' is found, the only time it is used in the document, but it is difficult to interpret the way it is used in this context as meaning anything other than more English:

[We shall] [c]reate clear target group-oriented entry points to the University of Copenhagen for researchers, students and collaborators from the whole world. It must be easier for foreign students and researchers to come to the University of Copenhagen. The international services must be strengthened with better course catalogues, study descriptions, housing offers and continued emphasis on parallellingualism. (University of Copenhagen's mission statement)

Parallellingualism here occurs in a context which emphasises the need for 'international services' to 'be strengthened' and the need to provide 'housing offers', 'course catalogues' and 'study descriptions'. Parallellingualism, then, must be read in this context as referring to increased use of English. This is a case of parallellingualism being reappropriated from its original meaning of 'more Danish' to meaning completely the opposite, i.e. more English, as a means to support international staff and students.

This could be seen in the light of the restructuring of European higher education and research. While there is free mobility for EU residents within the European higher education zone, students from outside the European Union who come to Denmark to study are charged tuition fees of approximately

€ 10,000 per academic year (European Union 2013). Recent political implementations by the liberal-conservative government in Denmark have also made it more attractive for universities to recruit international staff and students, and attaining a given target of international recruits is often an explicit goal in the universities' mission statements. Three universities (RU, UCPH and USD) specify in their policies the need to have a homepage in Danish *and* English, which may suggest their keenness to attract staff and students from overseas. The mission statements of four universities (AU, CBS, ITU and UCPH) also specify an aim to increase their portfolio of English-medium programmes (Danish Ministry of Science 2009). The background for this is that Danish universities have, since 2010, been allocated governmental funding according to their success on the following four parameters (in order of weighting): completed student credits, publications in high-ranking journals, external grants captured and completed PhD students (see, e.g., Hultgren 2013). Widening the pool of candidates to the international market is an attempt to strengthen the staff and student profile and to attain the targets. This will also increase their international standing, which, in turn, will reinforce their appeal on the international, or at least European, higher education market. Thus, it would appear that English is seen as the gateway, possibly both symbolically and functionally, to participating in the global market of higher education and research (see also Lønsmann, this issue). That the language favoured is English is of course not coincidental but, intrinsically linked to power and the ideological hegemony of neo-liberalism deriving from the United States of America (Phillipson 2006).

Let us now consider the second theme, i.e. language use in each of the three university tasks: teaching, research dissemination and administration. Many universities are noticeably vague when it comes to specifying language use in each of these areas. While Roskilde University 'recognizes that the use of English or another foreign language must not lead to a lowering of the academic level' in courses taught in English, no details are provided as to how such a lowering of standards is going to be avoided. A similar case can be made for the policy on research dissemination. While most universities (AAU, UCPH, USD, CBS, DTU and RU) acknowledge the importance of retaining Danish as an academic language, this is formulated in abstract and non-consequential terms. As discussed earlier, Roskilde University states that '[i]t is the intention of Roskilde University to contribute actively to developing Danish as an academic language to avoid domain loss' but does not give any strategies on how this will be done. The same applies to the University of Southern Denmark, whose policy states: 'USD contributes to the development of Danish terminology in the disciplines which are represented at the university', but, like Roskilde, refrains from giving any strategies as to how this will be done. In addi-

tion, as most policies leave the decision on language of publication to the individual author, this is likely to further English given the importance of publishing in high-ranking (de facto English-medium) journals has for career advancement. For example, USD states that '[r]esearch results are published internationally and in a language which is relevant in the research field or to the target group'. When it comes to the language of administration, e.g. language use in official documents, signs in the buildings, emails, meetings, etc., there is also an absence of specific guidelines; it, too, seems to be left very much up to the individual, the department or the faculty, and in most cases it seems likely that this will further the use of English. The openness of the policies is analogous to what has been found in other workplaces in which the policies might be described as orienting to a form of 'strategic ambiguity' (Angouri 2013). In other words, they are deliberately formulated in rather vague terms to allow for actors' flexible enactment of them.

With regard to the third and final theme, language competencies, all universities acknowledge the need for language competence development for staff and students. Only a few, however, have actually done something about this (cf. AAU, RU and UCPH) and established language support centres. As with the language of publication, however, the decision about whether to develop language competencies is often left to the individual:

Roskilde recognises the need for skills in foreign language and intercultural communication among staff and students. For this reason, Roskilde encourages both groups to acquire and/or develop such skills. (Roskilde University's language policy)

Some universities state in their policies that they expect or encourage non-Danish staff (or, less often, students) to learn Danish within a period of time of residence in the country; importantly, however, this is not accompanied with any details on enforcement.

It could be the case, then, that Danish universities may have deliberately not wanted to restrict communication by rigid language policies and thus allow flexible communication, as in the case of other workplaces (Kingsley 2010; Angouri 2013). But this raises the question of why universities, or any workplace for that matter, need language policies in the first place. One possible interpretation in the case of universities is that the language policies function to pay lip-service to preceding language policies. Most policies came into being because of external pressure from various organisations, including the Danish Ministry of Culture (2003, 2008), the Nordic Council of Ministers (2007) and the Danish Rectors' Conference (2003, 2004). However, in order to survive in today's competitive climate, what really matters to universities is to attract limited government funding, to feature prominently on university world ranking

lists, to recruit international faculty and students, to offer more programmes taught in English and to have publications in high-ranking, *de facto*, English-language journals. The university language policies could thus be seen as a smokescreen to cover up the inherent tension between retaining the local language and intensified internationalisation.

One final important issue which is worth noting is that it appears that competencies in English are assessed differently from competencies in Danish. This is evidenced by the number of universities or faculties requiring, or planning on requiring, of their teaching faculty to have their English competencies officially certified before they are permitted to teach (UCPH, RU and USD) whereas certification in Danish is not required for international (non-Danish-speaking) staff to be able to teach in Danish. It is possible that this certification can then be marketed as a warranty of quality to overseas students who are considering studying in Denmark, which will in turn increase the potential for revenue generation. In other words, it seems that it is only when international recruitment of students or staff is at stake that developing and assuring the language competencies of staff is really taken seriously by universities.<sup>7</sup>

For example, for teaching staff with Danish as an L1, USD ‘wants professional certification of teachers’ competencies in English, where relevant’. For international staff, a difference is made between whether the person in question has been in Denmark for more or less than two years. Thus, ‘international faculty who have been in Denmark for less than two years would normally be expected to teach and conduct research in English or another relevant foreign language’ and ‘international staff in Denmark for a longer period, i.e. more than two years, will as a minimum requirement be expected to be able to communicate in Danish in meetings’. In contrast to what is the case for Danish-speaking staff, who, ‘where relevant’, need to have their English competencies officially certified before they are required to teach, non-Danish-speaking staff who have been in Denmark for less than two years are permitted to teach in English and those who have been in Denmark for longer than two years are expected to be able to communicate in Danish at meetings (but not in teaching and research dissemination). It is also relevant to note that the policy does not mention any requirements for international staff whose first language is not English to have their English competencies certified, presumably because this might constitute an obstacle to international recruitment. As an example, the University of Southern Denmark emphasizes the need for administrative personnel to be able to communicate in English: ‘In all USD’s administrative units

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<sup>7</sup> I owe this point to Jacob Thøgersen, personal communication.

one or more employees must be able to communicate efficiently with students and staff in English' but does not state a requirement of being able to communicate in Danish. Part of the reason why the policies do not mention a need to communicate efficiently in Danish is, of course, that competencies in Danish are often taken for granted. However, it is also clear that developing and sometimes certifying competencies in English feed into the argument that parallellingualism in the university-authored policies has more to do with strengthening English than it has in the state-authored policies where strengthening Danish is the covert ideology.

All in all, there is arguably a discrepancy between the overtly expressed ideology of parallellingualism which emerged from the thematic analysis of the universities' language policies and the covert ideologies, which appear to favour English. Sometimes this preference for English comes across quite clearly as when DTU announces that they will offer more courses in English to attract international students. At other times, the Englishisation may happen more indirectly as a result of policies which reward publication in high-ranking journals and international mobility. Sometimes, the policies appear to be so vaguely formulated and lacking in concrete details that they seem to function more at a symbolic level. Robert Phillipson, who helped author the language policy for the Copenhagen Business School, has described the policy as a 'dead letter', the implementation of which has not been followed up (personal communication). It is perhaps understandable that the financial pressure which universities are under today requires them to generate revenue in different ways, which directly or indirectly favour English language use.

## 5 Conclusion

This article has focused on language policies aimed at Denmark's eight universities. The analysis has suggested that parallellingualism acquires different meanings in different contexts, depending on the author/s and on whether the focus is on the overt or the covert meaning. More specifically, where both state- and institution-authored policies overtly advocate some form of 'parallellingualism', i.e. a co-existence of Danish and English, covertly this seems to mean a strengthening of Danish to the former and a strengthening of English to the latter. Working within the theoretical framework which recognises that discourses about language are rarely, if even primarily, about language, but rather a surrogate for underlying discourses on the political, social and moral order (Cameron 2012), the paper has suggested some relevant underlying discourses,



notably romantic nationalism, anti-immigration, anti-globalisation, neo-liberalism and *laissez faire*.

There are, I believe, some possible implications of this research for the study of multilingualism in the workplace, particularly in relation to top-down vs. bottom-up approaches (Mortensen in press; Lindström 2012; Kingsley 2010). Firstly, the study does not deny the need to take into account the bottom-up perspectives in language policy research. At the same time, however, not losing sight of policies originating from the top is equally significant for bringing to the fore the covert ideologies that are advocated by influential stakeholders. It would seem that it is important to critically scrutinise the underlying interests in such policies. This is not least the case in the context of ‘the new work order’ in which organisations are increasingly concerned with employees’ linguistic and communicative behaviour (Schnurr 2013; Gee *et al.* 1996).

Secondly, in terms of theory-building, the findings of this paper suggest a possible need to approach the distinction which is often made in the literature between top-down and bottom-up language policy (Mortensen in press; Lindström 2012; Kingsley 2010) more openly. While both sets of policies analysed in this paper would probably most readily be described as top-down policies, in that they are encoded in an official document and have something to say about a particular linguistic situation, a case might be made for them being bottom-up. This is because the university-authored policies respond to and interact with state-authored policies (though in some cases, the state-authored policies post-date them). The state-authored policies, in turn, may not in fact represent the highest level of authorship as each could be said to respond to similar policies at the Nordic level (Nordic Council of Ministers 2007) and to some extent at the European level in the form of policies which seek to harmonise and increase mobility within the European zone of higher education and research (European Union 2013).

Finally, in terms of both theory and practice, questions must be raised as to how broad a remit should apply to the notion of ‘language policy’. In this article, the primary focus has been on *language* policies, understood as being documents which encode some sort of considerations about language matters. Yet, as suggested, policies which are not explicitly concerned with language may also influence, sometimes, it appears, in major ways, what goes in language policies (see also Saarinen 2012). Thus, as I have tried to show, worldwide, European and national processes and strategies of internationalisation and competition, while not explicitly concerned with language, seem to influence in significant ways particularly university-authored language policies (for a similar argument about the much-neglected economic aspects of language policy, see, e.g., Grin 2006). This raises questions, I would suggest, about the



possibility of teasing apart language policies from ongoing socio-economic and political changes and about how helpful it is to only focus on *language* policies and not policies in general. This is potentially relevant both to practitioners faced with the challenge of creating (language) policies which will have an impact and to researchers who seek to understand how such (language) policies work or do not work.

## Bionote

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